

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 016812
ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

66011

DRAFTED BY: AF:WESCHAUFLE, JR

APPROVED BY::AF:WESCHAUFLE, JR.

S/S - MR. SEBASTIAN

-----252315Z 043227 /61

O 252235Z JAN 77 ZFF4

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 016812

NODIS

FOR SEITZ

FOLLOWING REPEAT JOHANNESBURG 0146 ACTION SECSTATE DTD 25 JAN 77.

QTE: S E C R E T JOHANNESBURG 0146

NODIS

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCHAUFLE FROM EDMONDSON

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, RH

SUBJECT: RHODESIA: RICHARD'S MEETING WITH MUZOREWA, JAN 2

, 1977

REF: JOHANNESBURG 0139

1. IVOR RICHARD SAW BISHOP MUZOROWA IN SALISBURY AGAIN AFTER
HIS MEETING WITH IAN SMITH (REFTEL). HE SAID THE BISHOP WAS
DISAPPOINTED AND BITTER AT SMITH'S REJECTION OF THE BRITISH
PROPOSALS. NEITHER RICHARD, DENNIS GRENNAN, NOR PHILIP

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 016812

MANSFIELD THOUGHT THERE WAS ANY CHANCE THAT MUZOREWA WOULD
"DO A DEAL" WITH SMITH ON AN INTERNAL OPTION
DESPITE MUZOREWA'S UNHAPPINESS AT THE FRONTLINE
PRESIDENTS' ENDORSEMENT OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT.
MUZOREWA WAS ESPECIALLY BITTER AT THE EXECUTIONS OF ANC
GUERRILLAS BY THE SMITH REGIME AND CLAIMED THAT THE
NUMBER RECENTLY EXECUTED WAS 21, NOT 10 AS ANNOUNCED TO

THE PRESS. THERE WAS NEARLY ONE A WEEK, HE SAID, NOTING THAT SOME OF THE FAMILIES HAD GONE TO THE PRISONS TO ASK ABOUT THEIR RELATIVES' WELFARE ONLY TO BE HANDED THEIR DECEASED RELATIVES' CLOTHING.

2. RICHARD AND HIS COLLEAGUES BELIEVE THAT SMITH CONTINUES TO DECEIVE HIMSELF THAT HE CAN WIN MUZOREWA OVER TO HIS INTERNAL OPTION. GRENNAN NOTED THAT SMITH'S JANUARY 24 STATEMENT, WITHOUT NAMING MUZOREWA DIRECTLY, SPOKE OF THE AFRICAN LEADER WHO COMMANDS THE GREATEST MEASURE OF SUPPORT AMONG AFRICANS IN RHODESIA BUT WOULD HAVE ONLY ONE SIXTH OF THE SEATS IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS. GRENNAN THOUGHT SMITH MIGHT COME TO REGRET THIS ADMISSION OF MUZOREWA'S SUPPORT, IF, AS SEEMED LIKELY, MUZOREWA AND HIS FOLLOWERS REFUSED TO ACCEPT AN INTERNAL OPTION.

3. THE BRITISH SAID, ON THE BASIS OF PEOPLE THEY HAD TALKED TO AND REPORTS FROM OTHERS IN RHODESIA, THAT MUZOREWA SEEMS TO HAVE GAINED STRENGTH FROM THE FRONTLINE STATES' RECOGNITION OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. THEY BELIEVE QUITE A FEW RHODESIAN AFRICANS, EVEN NKOMO SUPPORTERS, RESENT BEING TOLD BY OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES WHICH PARTY THEY SHOULD SUPPORT. AMONG OTHER EVIDENCE, MANSFIELD NOTED THAT MUZOREWA WENT TO GIVE A "CHURCH TALK" TO A GATHERING IN FORT VICTORIA, NORMALLY AN NKOMO STRONGHOLD, AND WAS APPARENTLY WELL RECEIVED. (HIS "CHURCH TALK" WAS PRESUMABLY QUITE POLITICAL.)

4. COMMENT: FROM COMMENTS MADE BY SMITH AND OTHERS IT APPEARS THAT HE MAY INDEED BE PLANNING TO INSTITUTE, OR AT
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 016812

LEAST WORK TOWARD, AN INTERNAL OPTION BASED ON THE APPOINTED TRIBAL CHIEFS AND MUZOREWA'S ANC IF HE CAN WIN THE LATTER OVER. SMITH PROBABLY BELIEVES THAT THE BASIC CONSERVATISM OF SOME OF MUZOREWA'S MIDDLE-CLASS AFRICAN SUPPORTERS, ESPECIALLY THEIR FEAR OF THE CONSEQUENCES OF VIOLENCE AND DOMINATION BY MOZAMBIQUE-TYPE AFRICAN RADICALISM, WILL CAUSE THEM TO INFLUENCE MUZOREWA TO ENTER INTO SOME SORT OF ARRANGEMENT WITH HIM. SMITH MAY HOPE THAT HIS CHANCES OF DOING THIS CAN BE IMPROVED BY ELIMINATING SOME OF THE HARSHER ASPECTS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN RHODESIA, OR AT LEAST BY SHOWING SOME EFFORT TO DO SO. IN A MORE FUNDAMENTAL SENSE, HOWEVER, HE MAY ALSO ENTERTAIN THE IDEA OF WINNING MUZOREWA/ANC PARTICIPATION THROUGH SOME TYPE OF REFERENDUM OR ELECTORAL PROCESS THAT WOULD BE ATTRACTIVE TO MANY WESTERNERS. THIS IN TURN, HE MAY REASON, WOULD MAKE IT HARDER FOR THE US AND OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES TO CRITICIZE THE RESULTS. AS A NET RESULT, HE MAY BELIEVE THAT BY STICKING TO THE "KISSINGER PROPOSALS" (FOR WHICH HE MAY BELIEVE THERE IS STILL POTENTIAL USG

SUPPORT) AND INSTITUTING A REFERENDUM OR ELECTIONS, HE CAN
WIN AMERICAN AND WESTERN SUPPORT AGAINST ANY OUTSIDE

GUERILLA INCURSIONS, ESPECIALLY IF THE LATTER ARE COMMUNIST
SUPPORTED. WHILE THE FOREGOING SCENARIO IS SPECULATIVE,
IT IS A LOGICAL CONSTRUCT AND MIGHT EVEN WORK FOR A
WHILE IF SMITH COULD WIN ENOUGH INTERNAL AFRICAN SUPPORT.
ON THE OTHER HAND, MUZOREWA AND MANY OF HIS FOLLOWERS
ARE STRONGLY AWARE OF THE HAZARDS OF DEALING
WITH OR BECOMING PART OF A PUPPET REGIME. MUZOREWA
APPEARS UNLIKELY TO SELL OUT FOR POWER OR POSITION ALONE,
THOUGH HE COULD CONCEIVABLY ACT OUT OF CONVICTION THAT HE IS
LEADING HIS PEOPLE AWAY FROM DESTRUCTION TO
SALVATION. ON BALANCE, HOWEVER, NOT WANTING TO BE A PUPPET
AND KNOWING THAT GUERILLA WAR AND TRIBAL CONFLICT MIGHT ONLY
BE LIGHTENED, MUZOROWA SEEMS UNLIKELY TO "DO A DEAG." TO
PUT IT CONVERSELY, IT IS HARD TO IMAGINE SMITH MAKING
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 016812

ENOUGH CONCESSIONS UNILATERALLY TO MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR
MUZOREWA TO DEAL. IF THIS IS CORRECT, SMITH MAY BE
CONSTRUCTING HIS INTERNAL PLAN ON FALSE ASSUMPTIONS.
JOHNSON

UNQTE: VANCE

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MEETING CHAIRMAN, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, CAT-B, MEETING REPORTS, NATIONALISTS, POLITICAL SITUATION, NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 25-Jan-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977STATE016812
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: AF:WESCHAUFLE, JR
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: N770001-0249
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 2
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770119/aaaaaqpv.tel
Line Count: 145
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: ad4408d1-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: 77 JOHANNESBURG 139
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 09-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3504248
Secure: LOCK1
Status: NATIVE
Subject: RHODESIA: RICHARD'S MEETING WITH MUZOREWA, JAN 2 , 1977
TAGS: PFOR, PDEV, RH, UK, (MUZOREWA, ABEL), (RICHARD, IVOR)
To: LONDON
Type: TE
vdkgvkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/ad4408d1-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009